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TWENTY-EIGHTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

PHILADELPHIA

Female Anti-Slavery Society.

PHILADELPHIA:
MERRIHEW & THOMPSON, PRINTERS.
Corner of Lodge Street and Kenton Place.
1862.

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Female Anti-Slavery Society.

PHILADELPHIA:

MERRIHEW & THOMPSON, PRINTERS

(Corner of Sansom and Eighth Streets.)

1851.

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PRESIDENT,

SARAH PUGH.

VICE-PRESIDENT,

SIDNEY ANN LEWIS.

RECORDING SECRETARY,

GULIELMA M. JONES.

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MARY GREW.

TREASURER,

ANNIE SHOEMAKER.

BOARD OF MANAGERS,

LUCRETIA MOTT, HANNAH L. STICKNEY,
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REPORT

Measured by the rapid succession of important events in our national history, the last year has been a long one. At its commencement the gaze of the civilized world had been recently and suddenly fixed upon a great nation dismembered by internal convulsions; and the occupants of European thrones, and the dwellers in the humblest American homes, were asking with profound interest the same question, "What shall the end of these things be?" "The end is not yet," but the fast gathering portents of the times, the fast-fulfilling prophecy of former times, are suggesting the answer.

Among the events of the opening year, was a remarkable coincidence of purpose manifested by two classes of American citizens who are usually contrasted rather than compared. A mob of ruffians in the city of Syracuse, N. Y., excited to anger by the recurring anniversary of the Jerry rescue, attempted, by effigy burning, by profane and ribald orgies, mingled with mock prayer, to "put down Abolitionism," and testify their devotion to the Constitution and the Union. At about the same time a society was organized in the city of New York, un-

der the auspices of prominent clergymen, for the same object, which, adopting as its motto "God is our refuge and strength," issued an earnest appeal to the community to sustain slavery, to cease rebuking slaveholders, and to confront the evil teachings of the abolitionists "by the word of God." Nearly simultaneous with the action of these bodies, was the announcement of a plan, by the political leaders of the country, to harmonize the North and South, by amendments to the Federal Constitution, whereby the institution of slavery should be better secured. Now, by far different tokens do we tell the pulsations of the popular heart. Proposals for the emancipation of the slaves,—slaves of rebels,—slaves in rebel States,—slaves in all the States,—are made on the floor of Congress by men who never aspired to be anti-slavery reformers. On the spot where two years ago John Brown died a felon's death, judicially murdered by Virginia, while the North said Amen to the deed, our encamped battalions invoke the smiles of Heaven on his grave, and from the tree which overshadowed his gallows, carve memorials of his heroism to carry with them to their battle-fields. Northern soldiers who would have led him to that scaffold, now marching southward, utter their enthusiasm in songs of honor to his name. And upon the "sacred soil" of Virginia another benefactor of the slave has this year stood, and told his audience of slaves that their right to liberty is inalienable, and exhorted them to claim and keep that right; and Virginia had no power to lead him to the gallows,

for United States armies defended his right to stand there and to speak thus.

The firing of South Carolina's guns upon Fort Sumpter, on the 12th of April, 1861, and the consequent proclamation of the President of the United States, summoning the militia of the country to suppress that rebellion, inaugurated the war between the South and the North, which, through alternating defeat and victory on both sides, has continued to the present hour. In this controversy the South has sharply defined and boldly avowed its issue. Never, for one moment, has she concealed her purpose; she has offered no compromise; she has spurned all that has been offered to her. At the commencement, she announced that slavery was "the vital agent of the controversy;" that the foundations of her new Government were laid, that its corner stone rested, upon the doctrine that "Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the negro." Frankly acknowledging that, if the premises of the anti-slavery party of the North were true, its conclusion was inevitable, she boldly denied the premises, asserted that her right to enslave men was God-given, and marshalled her armies to defend it on the battle field. In this contest she enrols among her allies no lover of universal liberty; she designates all her opponents by one name,—abolitionist. And in her conduct of the war she is equally uncompromising, availing herself of all practicable means of conquering her enemy. Her Penates are demons, but in her eyes they are gods; and as such she fights for them.

In the attitude assumed by the Federal Government towards her belligerent rebels, and the manner in which she conducts this war against them, is signally displayed the result of a long habit of subjection to the slave-power. While the South boasts that she is fighting for Slavery, the Federal Government dares not wage its war in the name of Liberty, but issues equivocal proclamations, which, in one paragraph, call Northern soldiers to crush the rebellion, and in the next, assure the rebels that the institution which has caused the rebellion shall be respected and protected. It strangely alternates its attitudes of fear and of authority. The knee, so long bent, straightens slowly and painfully; the voice so long accustomed to sue, is half frightened at its own tones of command. With one hand it strikes its rebels; and with the other offers them the old Constitutional shield for the protection of their weakest points against its own blows. Its first utterance was an asseveration of loyalty to the duty of restoring fugitive slaves; and in perfect harmony with this spirit of submission to its late master, were its instructions to its ministers abroad, that, in their intercourse with foreign governments, they should not allude to the origin or causes of our domestic difficulties, "and that they should indulge in no expressions of harshness or disrespect, or even impatience, concerning the seceded States, their agents, or their people." Too weak, in its timidity, to use the weapon which would have cleft its path straight through to victory, it called on the people to throng

their temples of worship, and pray to God to suspend the operation of His laws, and make it possible for them to continue in sin, without suffering its penalty.

And thus far, with occasional exceptions, may be seen in the conduct of the war, as in the original attitudes assumed by the parties, the same contrast between the Federal Government and the leaders of the rebellion. While the South, like a foe bitterly in earnest, avails herself of all means of warfare at her command, and converts her slaves into soldiers, the North refuses the heartily proffered aid of her loyal colored citizens, and forbids them to join her armies. While the South forces into her service all Northern men found upon her soil, our government returns hundreds of slaves who have fled to its forts and camps for protection, and who would gladly fight under its banner. While the South assigned her prisoners of war to felons' cells, or compelled them to labor in her camps, the North bade hers to take the easy oath of allegiance to herself, and go in peace. A strange spectacle is presented to the world by rebels in arms, for the defence of slavery, against their Government, repudiating its Constitution, defying its laws; and that Government seeking to conciliate them by hunting their slaves, and in its zeal surpassing even Constitutional requirements, and arresting and returning fugitives who had not escaped from one State to another, but were found on the soil of their own.

The fact that slavery was the cause of this dis-

memberment of the nation, is obvious to all excepting those who have shut their eyes to avoid seeing it. It is not only avowed by the instigators of the rebellion, but clearly discerned and unhesitatingly asserted by many a loyal slaveholder. Knowledge of the cause naturally suggests the cure; and it is the unwillingness of our Government to accept the suggestion, which holds it in its present position of apparent weakness and embarrassment, which is tempting the scorn of foreign powers. Steadily and with all its force the United States Government is resisting the mighty influence which, slowly and surely, is drifting it towards the policy of emancipation. In each defeat or failure, it casts about helplessly for aid, and calls for all weapons but the only sure one which lies within its grasp. And ever this invisible power presses on it a stern necessity, beneath which it trembles, and hesitates, and, perhaps unconsciously, moves towards its destiny. The indications of that destiny are increasing in numbers and in clearness. At the opening of the war, the Federal Government gravely announced that it was not designed to disturb the institution of slavery. But the "irrepressible negro" *would* be an element in it. In the first encampment of Northern soldiers on Southern soil, he appeared, and from that hour to this, by his ever recurring presence, has been asking that yet unanswered question, "What shall be done with him?" Gen. Butler's first response to this question was an offer to suppress slave insurrections; his second, an assertion that the slaves of rebels are contraband of war; his third, a declaration

that these fugitives are "men, women, and children, houseless, homeless, and unprovided for," whose claim to protection is the same as that of any other "men, women, and children who, for their attachment to the Union, had been driven or allowed to flee from the Confederate States."* The response of Congress, to this question, in August last, was the enactment of a law which set free from their masters' claim all slaves who had been used in any military or naval service against the United States Government. Now, in the Senate and the House, bills for the abolition of slavery in all the seceded States, are introduced, and earnestly advocated; and Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, tells the nation, that its wisest policy is to emancipate and arm the slaves. Fortress Monroe, sheltering a thousand fugitive slaves, United States vessels-of-war, at Port Royal, welcoming to the protection of their flag hundreds of these poor outcasts of earth, tell, in tones too loud and clear to be misunderstood, of a mighty change in the nation's heart. Gen. Fremont's proclamation, declaring free all slaves of rebels within his jurisdiction, and the enthusiasm with which it was received in the West and North, attested the same fact. And when the President of the United States strove to press back and hold down that rising tide in the popular heart, its next wave answered him by bearing Gen. Lane onward to a position far in advance of the anti-slavery policy of the rebuked and discarded com-

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*Gen. Butler's letter to Secretary Cameron, July 30th, 1861.

mander in Missouri. That great voice of the people, the newspaper press, speaks in tones so strangely and so suddenly altered, that abolitionists scarcely recognize it. Still conservative in its utterances, still timid in its policy, there breathes through it a spirit of kindliness towards the slave which tells that the shock of this revolution set free some latent sympathy for the oppressed in the American heart. After thirty years of persecution and calumny of themselves and their enterprise, abolitionists read with wonder, in prominent journals of this city, defences or apologies for both, and respectful tributes to men whose names had hitherto been used as a cry wherewith to rally a mob; and see with joy their own arguments and phraseology adopted by those journals, and used as naturally as though they were their mother tongue.

While we carefully note and rejoice in each indication of progress in the right direction, we are fully aware of the imminent danger which threatens our nation. The danger which we apprehend and fear lies not in Southern fleets and armies, but in the Northern heart; the evil we dread, is not an exhausted treasury, but exhausted moral strength? which easily yields to a compromise with wrong; not stagnant commerce, but stagnant honor which leaps not up at the glorious name of Liberty, urging the sacrifice of all meaner things in its behalf. The question is yet to be answered whether slavery has fatally poisoned the life-blood of the nation, or whether there is enough vitality left to enable it to survive

this critical hour. These days and weeks pass solemnly, for they go freighted with our Nation's destiny; a destiny soon to be revealed for our glory or our shame. It is a dark sign of the times that the party in power, the party whose sole distinction was its opposition to the extension of slavery, should, in such an hour as this, manifest a higher devotion to the Union than to Liberty; that its only organ in Washington should advertise fugitive slaves; that one of its most influential leaders should, apparently in complacent forgetfulness of four millions of slaves, assert that "freedom is always in the Union;" that the body to whom it has entrusted the administration of the government should seem intent on repressing or thwarting all anti-slavery action in the army; but these are not the only signs of the times which we discern. While the demon of slavery, in the garb of an angel of peace, stands tempting a trembling Government to conciliate, at all hazards, the partially loyal States, answering voices come from camp and council hall, from press and pulpit, whose tones of manly virtue and righteous indignation are indications of strength which may resist the tempter and save the nation. The body of our army are in advance of their leaders. The resolution, formally adopted by the soldiers of Potter Co., Pa., declaring "that it was no part of the duty of the soldier to aid in returning fugitive slaves," and their earnest protest against engaging in so "revolting a work;" and the action of the Seventh Regiment of Massachusetts, who opened their ranks to let the flying slave pass

through, then quickly closed them against his pursuer, illustrate a feeling which very widely prevails among the rank and file of the Northern army. And among the brightening signs of the times we note the recent opposition to the foreign slave-trade, marked by the first capital conviction under the laws of the United States against this trade; the order issued by the Government, prohibiting the use of the prisons of Washington as slave pens for the convenience or pleasure of slave traders or slaveholders; and the facilities furnished to slaves escaping through the Northern states.

We also record with grateful pleasure the fact that the Legislature of our own State, at its last session, maintained the honor of the Commonwealth by refusing to repeal the laws which protect the slave's right to freedom, when he is brought within her limits by his master.

Whatever censure may be deserved by our present Administration, and however far its action may fall below the standard of the anti-slavery reformers, or even of the masses of the people, who draw freer breath in a purer atmosphere than that which pervades cabinets and courts, it must never be forgotten that it is in advance of its predecessors, and that its existence is a result of an improved tone of public sentiment. Now it struggles and gropes half blindly, because unwilling to look in the only direction whence light can fall on its path; but if the power which created it shall prove strong enough to guide and sustain it in a righteous course, it will soon cease

from its folly in attempting to trace the rebellion to other causes than the existence of Slavery, and to suppress it by any other weapons than that of Emancipation. The folly of expecting to put down this rebellion without removing its cause, to preserve and secure our own liberty and prosperity without giving liberty to those whom we have enslaved, is equalled only by the meanness of wishing to do it, and the hypocrisy of asking God to assist us in doing it. This meanness and hypocrisy are keenly rebuked by the childlike confidence with which the slaves greet our advancing armies. In their eyes, our camps and forts are cities of refuge; and our soldiers, many of whom never aspired to fulfil divine commissions, suddenly find themselves hailed as Heaven-sent angels of Liberty, whose appearance is the expected answer to the prayers of longing slaves. Here the instinct of the slave and slaveholder are the same. The President of the United States may reiterate his assurances that this war is not to be carried on for the purpose of emancipation; one General may offer to suppress slave insurrections in Maryland, and another may proclaim to South Carolina that her peculiar institution shall not be disturbed by the Federal armies; it is in vain the leaders of the rebellion still designate them and their soldiers as "abolition hordes;" our Colonels may vie with one another in their zeal to banish fugitive slaves from their camps, or to return them to their masters; the slave's intuition sees over all this an irresistible power guiding the revolution. The aged slave in the city of Washington

who, as she looked wistfully on the passing pageant of war, was told that those gleaming bayonets would not be charged in the cause of negro freedom, spoke with the heart of her race, as she answered, with faith far above her culture "they works better than they knows."

There was a time when this nation might have crowned itself with glory in the emancipation of its slaves. In the hour of its prosperity and strength, moved by a high sense of justice and pure benevolence towards the wronged, it might have reached out its hand and lifted four million chattels up to manhood. That hour has passed. There was a moment, a brief, golden moment, given to one man in this nation, in which he might have done a deed of justice so sublime, so glorious, that the world would have bowed before him "as to one God-throned amid his peers. That moment has passed. Now,

> "To our cup of trembling
> The added drop is given,
> And the long suspended thunder
> Falls terribly from heaven."

Now the nation who would not be aroused by loftier motives to execute justice, is urged to do so by the fear of its own immediate destruction. Now, when the decree of the abolition of slavery shall be wrung by God's stern providence from a reluctant people, our shouts of joy, our hymns of thanksgiving, will be for the slave alone. In the glory of that hour the nation will have no share. On the banner which it might have waved in exultant pride over

such a deed, its own finger has written "Ichabod." While we mourn the departed glory, we rejoice in the vision of the slave's approaching deliverance. The aim of the abolitionists during the last thirty years has been to effect this deliverance peacefully, to redeem the nation from its sin, without this baptism of blood. This aim the nation has persistently and successfully opposed. Political parties have rivaled each other in their efforts to resist it, and the church has used her wealth, her learning, her moral power, and the sanctity of her name, to thwart it. But though they succeeded in preventing the peaceful abolition of slavery, they failed in their attempt to hinder the working of the immutable law of the universe—that national sin shall be followed by national suffering. Now, in the light of a new illustration of this law, they may read again the teachings with which they have corrupted the heart and seared the concience of this nation. Hopefully as the abolitionists pursued their aim of effecting peaceful emancipation, they never forgot the possibility of a failure, but they never doubted that, failing in this, there was no other alternative for the nation than disruption and the horrors of war. This they have constantly predicted, and now they gaze with more sorrow than surprise upon the fulfilment of those sad prophecies. Neither are they surprised by the charge that they are the cause of all these terrible tragedies. It is no new charge. The world has always made it against those who have disturbed its peace by rebuking its sins. The world has always tried to believe

that a course of sin might be safely pursued, if the troublesome voices of reformers could be silenced. In so far as the utterance of truth causes discord by exciting violent resistance to it, on the part of those whom it offends, in so far and no farther have the abolitionists caused this war. Even the Prince of Peace, foreseeing such results from his uncompromising testimony to the truth, said, "I came not to send peace but a sword." The lessons of all the centuries past taught the abolitionists to read their country's future; those lessons teach them now that there is but one way in which this war can end in real peace. Hence they learn their responsibility and duty in the present crisis. They stand before this nation as the representatives of the slave, and until his chains are sundered, their duty is to proclaim the truth with which they first startled the nation from its moral lethargy, and to urge them by every new consideration suggested by the events of these prolific hours. For thirty years they have been striving to achieve the redemption of the slave in time to save the land from civil war. That retribution has descended upon a people who oppressed "the widows and the fatherless, the stranger and the poor." Yet one more task is ours. In the dim future stands the angel of sterner retribution, waiting the nation's response to God's judgment-call. It is not yet too late to avert the terrible doom of servile war. To this end and with this hope we still pursue the work which has filled our hands and inspired our hearts through so many years.

In this work, this Society has endeavored to perform its share through those modes of operation which have always been found efficient in moral reforms; the dissemination of truth by the press and the voice. Our Treasurer's Report will show that, during the last year, we have circulated our usual number of anti-slavery newspapers. It is the aim of the Committee to whom this circulation is entrusted, to furnish these journals to those who are willing to read them, though not sufficiently interested in them to subscribe for them, and also to persons who can use them advantageously to our cause in their respective neighborhoods. Deeply impressed with the value of the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the National Anti-Slavery Standard, and its importance as one of the means by which our enterprise is to be consummated, we have devoted to its support a large portion of the profits of our last Fair. In no more direct and effective manner could we apply those funds to the abolition of American Slavery. A portion of our funds we have directed to the same end, through their usual channel, the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, of which we are a constituent part. The Report of our Fair Committee will show the success which attended that department of our labor. The perfectly quiet security in which it was held, the utter absence of all opposing influences from without, strikingly contrasted it with the Fair of the previous year. Pecuniarily its results exceeded the expectations of its most sanguine friends, whose

hopes for its success were restrained by the commercial embarrassment of the time. The hope which pervaded all our hearts that it might be the last of our long series of Anti-Slavery Fairs, that the revolution of another year would usher in our victory and the slave's jubilee, invested the occasion with peculiar interest.

A retrospective view of the anti-slavery enterprise from its initiation to the present hour, inspires us with gratitude, courage, and hope. The progress of that enterprise illustrates anew the power of truth to undermine gigantic institutions of wrong which have laid their foundations deep in the centuries. The success which has been granted to thirty years of anti-slavery labor, we receive with devout thanksgiving. It is true that our hope of leading the slave, peacefully, out of his house of bondage has been disappointed, but the death blow of slavery has been struck, and the providence of God is leading the slave by another path to freedom. The efforts which failed to bring the whole nation up to the high moral plane, on which it could inaugurate peaceful emancipation, have succeeded in bringing a portion of it up to the point whence it could resist the further aggressions of Slavery. That resistance has evoked a war which is fast intensifying a sentiment in the Northern heart, which will ultimately demand the utter destruction of Slavery. And thus by other weapons than those which the Anti-Slavery Societies of this land have wielded, by another warfare than that which they have waged, their work seems about to be fin-

ished. The countenance and aid which individual abolitionists will give to this war, will be determined by their various theories of the rightfulness of violence in national defence. Many of those who believe such violence justified by a good cause, have rushed into the ranks of the Northern army, hoping to fight there the battles of the slave; while others who believe that carnal weapons fit not Christian hands, still grasp the sword of the spirit, content to use that alone.

The year which we close to-day has bereaved us of faithful coadjutors whose names will henceforth be to us as a cherished memory and an inspiration. One who allied himself to the anti-slavery cause in its earliest, darkest days, and who grew old in its most faithful service, has left us an example of singleness of purpose, of unostentatious benevolence, and inflexible adherence to the right, such as the world rarely sees.* Another fulfilled the bright promise of a youth consecrated to the cause of the slave, by years of efficient, self-sacrificing toil in his behalf, ere she left us to die in a foreign land.†

Leaving our record of the past, we commence another year, cheered by the bright vision of final victory looming up in the near future. Should that vision recede as we approach, leading us through years of toil ere we overtake it, the faith which has hitherto guided our enterprise will sustain us even unto the end. The tremulous joy with which the abolitionist anticipates the first notes of the jubilee

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*Francis Jackson. †Lucia Weston.

song, which he almost hears, will not unnerve his arm for longer conflict, should it be demanded of him. Though our hope should be deferred, and our eyes see not this salvation, we know that it will dawn in splendor on the world, when "the Lord executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed." This day of our country's terrible trial is not wholly dark to us. Through its darkness gleams a hope that even this nation, "laden with iniquity;" that has called "evil good, and good evil;" that has trusted "in oppression and become vain in robbery;" that has "decreed unrighteous decrees" "to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor," may yet, through the stern discipline of bloody conflict and mortal anguish, of desolated homes and broken hearts, be taught the lessons which it would not learn from gentler teachers; and, in shame and sorrow, breaking the fetters it had fastened on its brother, find itself free to ascend the path to true national greatness; and, regenerated by love of the justice it was forced to practise, shall stand, at last, glorious among the nations, a People exalted by Righteousness.

Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in account with

ANNIE SHOEMAKER, *Treasurer.*

1861. DR.

	To subscription to N. A. S. Standard, 50 copies,		$100 00
	" do Liberator, 10 "		25 00
	" do A. S. Bugle 10 "		15 00
	" do London A. S. Advocate 5 copies,		5 00
	" Rent of room for Annual Meeting		6 00
	" Printing Annual Report,		23 75
	" Advertising, Postage, &c.		4 69
4 mo.	" Donation to Pa. A. S. Society,		150 00
"	" Albany A. S. office,		20 00
10 mo.	" Donation to Pa. A. S. Society,		50 00
12 mo.	" " " "		400 00
	" To American A. S. Society, for support of N. A. S. Standard,		400 00
	2d mo. 13th, 1862. Balance in Treasury,		409 24
			1608 68

1861. CR.

2d mo.	By Balance in Treasury	$335 42
"	Sale of articles left from Fair of 1860,	8 25
"	Donations,	6 00
"	Member's Subscriptions,	71 00
"	Proceeds of the Fair of 1861	1188 01
		1608 68

LYDIA GILLINGHAM,
Auditor.

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The Twenty-sixth Annual Fair was held in the Large Saloon of the Assembly Buildings, on the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th of December, 1861.

The receipts were $1,350.

This sum far exceeds the expectations with which preparations for the sales commenced. Many who have heretofore worked with us in this department of anti-slavery labor, have been devoting their time and energies to the clothing and comfort of the soldiers in the armies of the country, to the sick and wounded in the hospitals, or to the destitute slaves who have sought refuge with the foes of their oppressors; therefore, we were agreeably surprised to find so large a number, who, in addition to these labors, could bring their offerings in aid of the organization whose work will not be accomplished till "Liberty shall be proclaimed throughout the land, and to *all* the inhabitants thereof."

Valuable donations were received from numerous friends in the city; also from Newtown, Wakefield, Wrightstown, Solebury, Bristol, Byberry, Abington, Upper Dublin, Chelton Hills, Germantown, Norristown, Warwick Furnace, Kimberton, Coventry, Kennett, Longwood, Milton, Lancaster Co., Delaware Co.,

Wilmington, Mullica Hill, Staten Island, N. Y., and Hingham, Mass.

A generous donation of £20 was received from a friend in London.

It is a great pleasure to report this success of our efforts; the contributions and receipts being much larger than were anticipated. The unusually fine weather, the absence of opposition in the public mind, the throng of sympathizing friends, combined to make the time of the Fair a season of rare social enjoyment and gratification. Though the chains of the slave are not yet broken, the feeling that the time is not far distant when his shackles must fall, gave gladness and hope, almost assurance, that our labors would ere long be crowned with success, and the Jubilee song of enfranchised millions unite in the joyful acclaim, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace and good will to men."

On behalf of the Committee,

SARAH PUGH, LUCRETIA MOTT,
MARY GREW, MARGARETTA FORTEN.

Philadelphia, January, 1862.